

FOIS 11 (SEE 24 OF 1 NOV)

TASS CARRIES BREZHNEV DER SPIEGEL INTERVIEW

TAKE 1--BREZHNEV DER SPIEGEL INTERVIEW

LD0020600 MOSCOW TASS IN ENGLISH 0530 GMT 2 NOV 81

("LEONID BREZHNEV'S INTERVIEW TO 'DER SPIEGEL' MAGAZINE"
--TASS HEADLINE; ITEM EMBARGOED UNTIL 1500 GMT 2 NOVEMBER)

(TEXT) MOSCOW, 2 NOV (TASS)--FOLLOW LEONID BREZHNEV'S ANSWERS
TO QUESTIONS OF THE WEST GERMAN MAGAZINE DER SPIEGEL:

QUESTION: "YOU WILL BE GOING ON A STATE VISIT TO THE FRG
FOR THE THIRD TIME. SINCE YOUR LATEST VISIT IN 1978 THE SITUATION
IN THE WORLD HAS BECOME LESS STABLE AND MORE DANGEROUS IN SOME
RESPECTS. WHAT ROLE, IN YOUR OPINION, COULD THE FEDERAL
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY PLAY IN THE PRESENT SITUATION, AND WHAT
SIGNIFICANCE DO YOU ATTACH TO YOUR FORTHCOMING TALKS IN
BONN?"

ANSWER: "TO BEGIN WITH, I AM GLAD TO VISIT YOUR COUNTRY AGAIN.
I HAVE BEEN IN THE FRG TWICE. IN BOTH CASES WE HAD USEFUL
TALKS AND MEETINGS. I RECALL THEM WITH GRATIFICATION.

"MY FORTHCOMING VISIT TO THE FRG AT THE INVITATION OF
CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT IS A NATURAL FOLLOW-UP TO THE LINE OF MUTUALLY
BENEFICIAL COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, CONSTRUCTIVE
DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-WEST GERMAN RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE
TREATY OF 1970. THIS COURSE OF OUR HAS BEEN MOST DEFINITELY
EXPRESSED AT THE 24TH, 25TH AND 26TH CONGRESSES OF THE CPSU.
WE KNOW THAT IN BONN, TOO, THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE
SOVIET UNION ARE VIEWED AS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF WORLD
POLITICS, ON WHICH STABLE PEACE IN EUROPE DEPENDS IN NO SMALL
MEASURE.

"THERE, OF COURSE, WILL BE NO LACK OF SUBJECTS IN THE EXCHANGES
OF VIEWS WITH CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT AND OTHER FRG LEADERS.
AS FAR AS I CAN SEE, IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT NOWADAYS TO
DETERMINE WHAT ACTIONS COULD EACH OF OUR COUNTRIES TAKE FOR THE
RESOLUTION OF THE TASK THAT IS MOST VITAL AND URGENT TO
HANKIND--THAT OF PREVENTING A NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE
AND CREATING A RELIABLE PROSPECT OF DURABLE PEACE.

"BOTH OUR COUNTRIES HAVE REPEATEDLY DECLARED FOR
ESTABLISHING A MILITARY BALANCE IN EUROPE AT THE LOWEST POSSIBLE
LEVEL, INCLUDING IN THE FIELD OF NUCLEAR ARMS. THE QUESTION IS
HOW THIS SHOULD BE DONE. HERE OUR VIEWS NOTICEABLY DIVERGE.
BUT WE MUST SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION. I RECALL THAT IN THE JOINT
DECLARATION, WHICH WAS SIGNED BY CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT AND MYSELF
IN MAY 1978, BOTH SIDES EXPLICITLY DECLARED THAT NOBODY SHOULD
SEEK MILITARY SUPERIORITY AND SAID THAT ROUGH EQUALITY AND
PARITY ARE SUFFICIENT FOR ENSURING DEFENCE. WE ADHERE TO IT NOW,
TOO. THIS IS, FOR THAT MATTER, THE STARTING POINT FOR THE
SUBSEQUENT TALKS.

WORLD. I BELIEVE THAT AT THE START OF THE EIGHTIES, LIKE IT WAS AT THE START OF THE SEVENTIES, THE FRG IS FACED WITH DECISIONS OF FUNDAMENTAL ORDER. WILL THE COURSE, WHICH SO MUCH INCREASED THE FRG'S WEIGHT IN THE EUROPEAN AND WORLD POLITICS, BE CONTINUED AND FURTHER DEVELOPED, OR THE CAPITAL ACCUMULATED OVER THESE YEARS WILL BE SQUANDERED IN FRUITLESS AND DANGEROUS CONFRONTATIONS? I WOULD WISH TO HOPE THAT AS A RESULT OF OUR TALKS AND CONVERSATIONS WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT, OTHER STATESMEN AND POLITICIANS OF THE FRG, THERE WILL BE AN INCREASE IN THE RECIPROCAL CONFIDENCE THAT OUR COUNTRIES WILL CARRY ON THE TESTED LINE, WHICH LIVED UP TO EXPECTATIONS: THE ABILITY TO RECIPROCATE WITH CONFIDENCE TO CONFIDENCE, TO SAFEGUARD WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED, TO DEVELOP CONSISTENTLY AND TIRELESSLY BILATERAL COOPERATION IN VARIOUS FIELDS. SUCH A LINE WOULD ATTUNE WELL TO COMMON EFFORTS FOR CONTAINING THE ARMS RACE, STRENGTHENING DETENTE AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY."

QUESTION: "PARTICULARLY GREAT HOPES WERE ONCE PINNED ON JOINT ECONOMIC PROJECTS. WHAT ARE, IN YOUR VIEW, THE PROSPECTS FOR THE ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES UNDER THE PRESENT-DAY CONDITIONS?"

ANSWER: "IN OUR VIEW, ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE FRG IS DEVELOPING QUITE WELL AND HAS A GOOD FUTURE.

*Sov-FRG
Econ
Relations*

"TODAY THE FRG IS ONE THE SOVIET UNION'S LEADING TRADE PARTNERS AMONG THE WESTERN COUNTRIES. THE EFFICIENCY AND CONSCIENTIOUSNESS WITH WHICH OUR WEST GERMAN PARTNERS MEET THEIR COMMITMENTS UNDER ECONOMIC TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS ARE VALUED IN THE USSR. WE, OF COURSE, ANSWER IN KIND.

"AS FAR AS I UNDERSTAND, THE DEVELOPMENT OF LARGE-SCALE AND LONG-TERM ECONOMIC TIES WITH THE USSR HELPS THE FRG RESOLVE THE SERIOUS PROBLEMS FACING ITS ECONOMY. YOUR COUNTRY, NO LESS THAN OTHER COUNTRIES, NEEDS RELIABLE SOURCES OF ENERGY, RAW AND PRIMARY MATERIALS, FOREIGN ORDERS TO ENSURE THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE POPULATION. THE SOVIET UNION ALSO BENEFITS BY COOPERATION WITH THE FRG IN A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT FIELDS OF OUR ECONOMIC LIFE.

"IT IS ALSO HIGHLY ESSENTIAL THAT OUR ECONOMIC TIES MEET NOT ONLY THE REQUIREMENTS OF TODAY, BUT ARE BUILT WITH A BROAD PROSPECT. A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THIS COOPERATION ARE, IN MY VIEW, SOME OF OUR JOINT PROJECTS WHICH ARE PROJECTED INTO THE 21ST CENTURY. THEY, CERTAINLY, ARE NOT ONLY OF ECONOMIC, BUT OF POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE--IN THE BEST SENSE OF THIS WORD. AS ORIENTATION AT A LONG-TERM PROSPECT IN ECONOMIC RELATIONS IS ALSO ORIENTATION AT DURABLE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, AT GOODNEIGHBOURLINESS."

(MORE)

2 NOV 0746Z HAT/LJ

FBIS 12

TAKE 2--11 (BREZHNEV DER SPIEGEL INTERVIEW)

/// COEXISTENCE, AT GOODNEIGHBOURLINESS."

LD020608

(TEXT) THE RECENT SCHEDULED SESSION IN MOSCOW OF THE MIXED SOVIET-WEST GERMAN COMMISSION FOR ECONOMIC AND SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL COOPERATION, THE TALKS IN THIS CONNECTION OF CHAIRMAN OF THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS NIKOLAY TIKHONOV AND VICE-CHAIRMAN LEONID KOSTANDOV WITH FEDERAL ECONOMICS MINISTER OTTO LAMBSODERF AND OTHER FRG REPRESENTATIVES WERE HELD PRECISELY FROM THIS POINT OF VIEW, WITH AN EYE TO THE FUTURE.

"JUDGING BY THE RESULTS OF THAT SESSION, THERE IS A SOLID BASIS FOR A FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RELATIONS. WE FELT THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE FRG'S APPROACH TO THE PLANNED DEAL ON FRESH SUPPLIES OF SOVIET GAS IN EXCHANGE FOR THE SUPPLIES OF PIPES AND CONSTRUCTION IN THE SOVIET UNION WITH WEST GERMAN PARTICIPATION OF A GAS PIPELINE BETWEEN EUROPE AND SIBERIA. OTHER OPPORTUNITIES OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION HAVE BEEN ALSO IDENTIFIED.

"I WOULD WISH TO ADD ONE THING MORE IN CONNECTION WITH OUR ECONOMIC COOPERATION: IT IS NOT DETRIMENTAL TO ANYBODY AND, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IS BENEFICIAL TO ALL AS IT STRENGTHENS THE FUNDAMENTALS OF PEACE IN EUROPE AND ALL OVER THE WORLD.

QUESTION: "EAST-WEST RELATIONS HAVE SERIOUSLY COMPLICATED NOWADAYS. HOW DO YOU EVALUATE THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD AND, IN PARTICULAR, THE DESTINY OF DETENTE, WHICH SEEMED ALMOST IRREVERSIBLE TO MANY POLITICIANS?"

ANSWER: "THERE IS NO QUIET IN THE WORLD TODAY. 'HOT SPOTS' ARE EMERGING IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD. THE RACE OF DEATH-CARRYING WEAPONS IS CONTINUING. NEW TYPES OF THEM ARE CREATED, WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY DANGEROUS BECAUSE THEY, AS EXPERTS SAY, LOWER THE THRESHOLD OF NUCLEAR WAR, I.E. MAKE ITS OUTBREAK MORE PROBABLE. UNDER THESE CONDITIONS THE SPECULATION OF SOME STRATEGISTS AND POLITICIANS IN THE WEST ON THE ADMISSIBILITY OF SOME 'LIMITED' NUCLEAR WAR AND THE POSSIBILITY TO WIN A VICTORY IN IT LOOKS PARTICULARLY INSIDIOUS.

*Nuclear
Doctrine*

"MAYBE SOMEBODY REALLY HOPES THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO CONFINED NUCLEAR WAR TO THE TERRITORY OF EUROPE, AND CONSIDERS IT TO BE AN ACCEPTABLE VARIANT FOR HIMSELF. NEEDLESS TO SAY THAT SUCH A VARIANT VERY LITTLE SUITS THE EUROPEANS. TO THEM IT WOULD BE DEATH, A CATASTROPHE, THAT WOULD LEAD TO THE DESTRUCTION OF ENTIRE NATIONS AND THEIR MANY CENTURIES' OLD CIVILISATION.

*Nature of
nuclear
war*

"AS A MATTER OF FACT, THERE CAN BE IN GENERAL NO 'LIMITED' NUCLEAR WAR. IF A NUCLEAR WAR BREAKS OUT, WHETHER IT BE IN EUROPE OR IN ANY OTHER PLACE, IT WOULD INEVITABLY AND UNAVOIDABLY ASSUME A WORLD-WIDE CHARACTER. SUCH IS THE LOGIC OF THE WAR ITSELF AND THE CHARACTER OF PRESENT-DAY ARMAMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. ONE SHOULD CLEARLY SEE AND UNDERSTAND IT.

"SO, THOSE WHO POSSIBLY HOPE TO SET FIRE TO THE NUCLEAR POWDER KEG, WHILE THEMSELVES SITTING SNUG ASIDE, SHOULD NOT ENTERTAIN ANY ILLUSIONS.

"RECENTLY YOUR MAGAZINE PUBLISHED AN INTERVIEW WITH A SCIENTIST WHO IS DESCRIBED AS THE 'FATHER' OF THE AMERICAN NEUTRON BOMB. HE LET FALL A PHRASE: ALL PEOPLE ARE MONSTERS. HIS DAUGHTER, WHO WAS PRESENT THEN, ASKED: THEN ARE YOU A MONSTER TOO? YES I AM, HE ANSWERED, AND ADDED THAT WAR IS IN MAN'S VERY NATURE. HERE IS A STRIKING SPECIMEN OF HUMAN-HATING PSYCHOLOGY OF THOSE WHO ARE TODAY ZEALOUSLY WHIPPING UP THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE.

"IN SO DOING, THEY ARE APPARENTLY BIDDING HOPE ON LULLING THE VIGILANCE OF THE EUROPEANS, ON GETTING THEM ACCUSTOMED TO ASSESSING THE SAME NEUTRON WEAPON AS A USUAL THING, A 'DEFENCE' MEANS, IN A WORD, SOMETHING LIKE A BAYONET OR A GRENADE. MEANWHILE, THINGS STAND QUITE DIFFERENTLY. SINCE, AS EXPERTS SAY, SEVERAL NEUTRON CHARGES WILL BE ENOUGH TO DESTROY EVERY LIVING THING IN SUCH A CITY, SAY, AS HAMBURG.

"ALL, THIS IS UNPLEASANT TALK, BUT THE TRUTH CONCERNING ALL SHOULD BE PRONOUNCED LOUDLY AND STRAIGHTFORWARDLY. IT SHOULD BE SAID, BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE, WHILE IT IS POSSIBLE YET TO PREVENT THE CALAMITY. IT IS NO PROBLEM TO CREATE THE NEUTRON WEAPON. THE REAL PROBLEM IS A POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN ONE--HOW TO PREVENT THE EMERGENCE AND USE OF SUCH A WEAPON. ONCE THE EUROPEANS HAVE SUCCEEDED IN DOING SO. THEY CAN COPE WITH IT NOWADAYS TOO.

"IT IS CLAIMED IN SOME CAPITALS OF THE NATO COUNTRIES THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS ALLEGEDLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CLOUDS GATHERING OVER THE WORLD. BUT IF ONE REJECTS THE PROPAGANDIST CHIMERAS AND TURNS TO FACTS, IT WILL BECOME CLEAR THAT THIS IS A MALICIOUS INVENTION.

(MORE)

2 NOV 0811Z HAT/LJ

FBIS 13

TAKE 3--11 (BREZHNEV DER SPIEGEL INTERVIEW)

/// A MALICIOUS INVENTION."

LD020626

(TEXT) "THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT THREATEN ANYBODY, IS NOT PLANNING TO ATTACK ANYONE. OUR MILITARY DOCTRINE IS OF A DEFENSIVE CHARACTER. IT RULES OUT PREVENTIVE WARS AND THE 'FIRST STRIKE' CONCEPT. I CAN ALSO SAY WITH ALL RESPONSIBILITY THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES USE THE NUCLEAR WEAPON AGAINST THE STATES, WHICH HAVE RENOUNCED ITS PRODUCTION AND ACQUISITION AND DO NOT HAVE IT ON THEIR TERRITORY. WE ARE READY TO GIVE CONTRACTUAL GUARANTEES OF IT TO ANY COUNTRY WITHOUT A SINGLE EXCEPTION.

*Soviet
military
doctrine*

OUR STRIVING TO PREVENT A NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST HAS BEEN CONVINCINGLY EXPRESSED AT THE CURRENT SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY WHERE THE USSR HAS PUT FORWARD A NEW IMPORTANT AND CONSTRUCTIVE INITIATIVE. THE MAIN THING ABOUT IT IS TO ENSURE THAT NOBODY SHOULD EVER BE THE FIRST TO USE THE NUCLEAR WEAPON. AND IF NOBODY IS THE FIRST TO USE IT, THIS, CONSEQUENTLY, MEANS THAT IT WILL NOT BE USED AT ALL.

AS IT CAME TO THE SOVIET UNION'S STAND ON THE ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE, LET ME REMIND YOU SOMETHING ELSE.

"WE, AS IS KNOWN, HAVE SIGNED WITH THE UNITED STATES AND WERE READY TO IMPLEMENT HONESTLY THE SECOND TREATY ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS SALT-II.

"WE PROPOSED TO REACH AGREEMENT ON ENDING NOT ONLY ALL AND EVERY NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS, BUT ALSO THEIR FURTHER PRODUCTION IN ORDER TO LIMIT AND THEN TO LIQUIDATE THEIR STOCKS IN GENERAL.

"WE PROPOSED THAT THE DEVELOPMENT AND CREATION OF ANY NEW TYPES OF MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS BE PROHIBITED CONTRACTUALLY.

"WE HAVE PUT FORWARD PROPOSALS ON SPECIFIC, WEIGHED AND FAIR MEASURES FOR LESSENING TENSIONS AND ELIMINATING SEATS OF CONFLICTS ON VAST EXPANSES FROM CENTRAL EUROPE TO THE FAR EAST, INCLUDING THE MIDDLE EAST, THE PERSIAN GULF AND INDIAN OCEAN ZONE.

"UNFORTUNATELY, THE LEADING POWERS OF THE WEST, ABOVE ALL, THE NATO BLOC, DO NOT SHOW SO FAR A SERIOUS INTEREST IN TALKS ON ALL OF THESE QUESTIONS THAT ARE VITAL TO MANKIND AND ITS PEACEFUL FUTURE. SOME PEOPLE THERE ARE BY FAR MORE WILLING TO SPEAK NOT ON DETENTE, BUT ON CONFRONTATION; NOT ON PEACEFUL MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION, BUT ON THE USE OF FORCE TO MILITARY-STRATEGIC ENDS; NOT ON AGREEMENTS ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY, BUT ON DIKTAT FROM THE POSITIONS OF MILITARY SUPREMACY; NOT ON THE ELIMINATION BY JOINT EFFORTS OF SEATS OF CONFLICTS, BUT ON THE CREATION OF EVER NEW MILITARY BASES, ON THE BUILD-UP OF THEIR MILITARY PRESENCE IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD; NOT ON CURBING THE ARMS RACE, BUT ON 'REARMAMENT,' NOT ON A LIMITATION OR PROHIBITION OF SOME OR OTHER TYPES OF WEAPONS, BUT ON THE CREATION OF EVER NEW, EVEN MORE DESTRUCTIVE MEANS OF MASS ANNIHILATION OF PEOPLE.

"THIS WAY, UNFORTUNATELY, THEY NOT ONLY SPEAK, BUT ALSO TRY IN PRACTICE. YOU, CERTAINLY, UNDERSTAND THAT I HAVE IN MIND, ABOVE ALL, THE POLICY OF THE PRESENT U.S. ADMINISTRATION, THE WAY IT WAS MANIFEST BOTH IN STATEMENTS BY HIGH-RANKING STATESMEN OF THAT COUNTRY AND, WHICH IS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, IN THEIR PRACTICAL DEEDS.

"ALL OF IT IS ACTUALLY AN OPPOSITE TO DETENTE, BLUNT DISREGARD FOR THE STRIVING OF ALL PEOPLES FOR LASTING PEACE. AND IT IS, CERTAINLY, PROFOUNDLY DEPLORABLE THAT THE LEADERS OF ONE OF THE WORLD'S BIGGEST POWERS HAVE DEEMED IT POSSIBLE TO BUILD THEIR POLICY ON SUCH A BASIS."

(MORE)

2 NOV 0829Z HAT/LJ

WV: 11-11-74: 11-11-74

1964-1965: 11-11-74: 11-11-74

11-11-74

FBIS 14

TAKE 4--11(BREZHNEV DER SPIEGEL INTERVIEW)

/// SUCH A BASIS."

LD020640

(TEXT) "AS FAR AS THE SOVIET UNION IS CONCERNED, AS I HAVE REPEATEDLY HAD OCCASION TO SAY, WE SINCERELY STRIVE FOR NORMAL RELATIONS WITH THE USA BASED ON MUTUAL RESPECT AND CONSIDERATION FOR EACH OTHER'S RIGHTS AND INTERESTS. MOREOVER, WE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE GOOD, FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE USA IN THE NAME OF STRENGTHENING PEACE ON EARTH.

"SOVIET-AMERICAN TALKS ON THE LIMITATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON EUROPE LIE AHEAD. I WILL LATER SPEAK ABOUT IT. AND SOME TIME FOLLOWING WHICH, AS WE HOPE, SALT TALKS WILL START. WE WILL CONDUCT BOTH TALKS FAIRLY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY, STRIVING FOR A FAIR AGREEMENT WITH DUE REGARD, OF COURSE, FOR THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE, ITS FRIENDS AND ALLIES.

"PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS RECENTLY EXPRESSED THE READINESS OF THE USA TO DISCUSS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ALSO OTHER PROBLEMS, WHICH CAUSE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. WE WELCOME SUCH READINESS, AS WE HAVE ALWAYS CONSIDERED TALKS TO BE THE MOST APPROPRIATE METHOD OF RESOLVING INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS. THE MAIN THING, OF COURSE, IS THAT APPROPRIATE PRACTICAL DEEDS SHOULD BE MATCHED TO CORRECT WORDS.

"AND IT WOULD BE BETTER TO ABANDON DREAMS OF ENSURING MILITARY SUPREMACY OVER THE USSR. IF NECESSARY, THE SOVIET PEOPLE WILL FIND OPPORTUNITIES FOR MAKING ANY ADDITIONAL EFFORTS, FOR DOING EVERYTHING NECESSARY TO ENSURE THEIR COUNTRY'S RELIABLE DEFENCE. IT IS BY FAR MORE SENSIBLE AND REALISTIC TO SPEAK OF PRESERVING THE PARITY, WHICH ALREADY EXISTS, AND, AS EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN, IS QUITE A GOOD BASIS FOR PRESERVING PEACE.

*Soviet
military
commitment*

"EUROPE IS, OF COURSE, CALLED UPON TO PLAY A SPECIAL ROLE IN STRENGTHENING PEACE AND DEEPENING DETENTE. AT LEAST BECAUSE IT IS THE MOST CROWDED AND FRAGILE OF ALL OF MANKIND'S 'HOMES,' WHICH WOULD INEVITABLY BE A VICTIM OF NUCLEAR CONFLAGRATION. THE FINAL ACT OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE IS EVIDENCE OF THE FACT THAT THE EUROPEAN STATES REALIZE THE VALUE OF PEACE AND DANGER OF MILITARY THREAT. IS IT NOT ALSO SEEN FROM THE SPONTANEOUS ANTI-WAR AND ANTI-MISSILE MOVEMENT, WHICH IS UNFOLDING NOWADAYS IN A NUMBER OF NATO COUNTRIES AS AN ANSWER TO THE DANGEROUS MILITARISTIC POLICY OF THAT BLOC'S LEADERS?

"...WE MAY ARGUE, WE MAY QUARREL, WE MAY DISAGREE ON SPECIFIC COMBINATIONS--IT IS HIGHLY PROBABLE THAT WE SHALL HAVE TO DISAGREE--THIS FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC NECESSITY WILL, NEVERTHELESS, AFTER ALL IS SAID AND DONE, MAKE A WAY FOR ITSELF...REGULAR TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET REPUBLIC AND ALL THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD ARE CERTAIN TO CONTINUE DEVELOPING."
(LENIN: COLLECTED WORKS, ENGLISH EDITION, VOL 33 PAGE 265).
LIFE HAS BORNE OUT AND CONTINUES BEARING OUT THE WISDOM OF THIS PRONOUNCEMENT."

(b)(7)(C)

2 NOV 0848Z HAT/LJ

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TAKE 5--11 (BREZHNEV DER SPIEGEL INTERVIEW)

/// OF THIS PRONOUNCEMENT."

LD020646

(TEXT) AS FAR AS THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IS CONCERNED IN THE CREATION OF THIS FABRIC OF PEACEFUL TIES IN EUROPE AND SIGNIFICANCE IN THIS RESPECT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, I HAVE ALREADY SPOKEN ABOUT IT.

QUESTION: A NEW STAGE IN THE ARMS RACE IS IMMINENT. THE PROBLEM OF MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BOTH OF SOVIET AND AMERICAN ONES, HAS BECOME ONE OF THE MOST ACUTE FOR EUROPE. DO YOU SEE AN OPPORTUNITY TO HALT SUCH A DEVELOPMENT?

ANSWER: I HAVE MORE THAN ONCE HAD OCCASION TO SAY: WE FEEL THAT THERE IS NO SUCH FIELD OF DISARMAMENT AND NO SUCH TYPE OF WEAPON ON WHICH AGREEMENT COULD NOT BE REACHED. THE PROBLEM OF MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR MEANS IN EUROPE CAN ALSO BE RESOLVED IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL EUROPEAN NATIONS. CAN AND MUST BE. BUT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO DO SO ONLY PROVIDED ALL SIDES TREAT THE CONSTRUCTION OF LASTING PEACE AS A COMMON TASK.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN IN SPECIFIC TERMS? YOUR MAGAZINE IS CALLED (IN TRANSLATION) MIRROR. AND MAY THIS MIRROR REFLECT THE REAL PICTURE.

LET US RECALL FIRST HOW THE EVENTS, WHICH IN THE LONG RUN BROUGHT ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE, WERE UNFOLDING. SINCE THE FIFTIES THE USA DEPLOYED IN EUROPE AND THE SEAS WASHING IT NUCLEAR WEAPONS FOR DELIVERING STRIKES AGAINST VITAL CENTERS OF THE USSR AND ITS ALLIES. THESE WEAPONS BEGAN TO BE CALLED 'FORWARD-BASED MEANS.' AND THE DOCTRINE OF 'BRINKMANSHIP.' THEN, OR A LITTLE LATER, NUCLEAR WEAPONS APPEARED IN WESTERN EUROPE ALSO IN SOME OTHER NATO MEMBER-COUNTRIES.

*European
nuclear
balance*

IMAGINE YOURSELF IN OUR POSITION. COULD WE INDIFFERENTLY REGARD HOW THEY WERE BESIEGING US ON ALL SIDES WITH MILITARY BASES, HOW INCREASING NUMBERS OF CARRIERS OF NUCLEAR DEATH, IRRESPECTIVE IN WHAT FORM -- MISSILES FROM THE SEA OR LAND, AIR BOMBS, ETC. WERE TARGETED FROM VARIOUS AREAS OF EUROPE ON SOVIET CITIES AND VILLAGES? THE SOVIET UNION HAD TO CREATE MEANS FOR ITS OWN DEFENCE, AND NOT FOR THREATENING ANYONE, EUROPE LEAST OF ALL. IT CREATED AND DEPLOYED THEM ON ITS TERRITORY IN NUMBERS BALANCING THE RESPECTIVE ARMS OF THOSE WHO DECLARED THEMSELVES TO BE OUR POTENTIAL ENEMIES.

NEITHER THEN NOR NOW WE HAVE CONSIDERED NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION, ESPECIALLY IN EUROPE, TO BE THE BEST SOLUTION. MANY TIMES THE USSR PROPOSED THAT AT LEAST A LIMIT BE PUT TO RIVALRIES IN THAT FIELD, BUT IT HAS NEVER COME TO REAL TALKS. WHY? NEITHER IN THE SIXTIES, NOR IN THE SEVENTIES, THE U.S. ADMINISTRATIONS WISHED THAT THEIR MEDIUM-RANGE SYSTEMS I.E. THE SO-CALLED FORWARD-BASED MEANS SHOULD ALSO BE A SUBJECT OF TALKS AND POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS SHOULD APPLY TO THEM. IN ALL EVIDENCE, THE BALANCE OF MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR FORCES WHICH TOOK SHAPE SUITED THE AMERICANS THEN.

FBIS 18

TAKE 6--11 (BREZHNEV DER SPIEGEL INTERVIEW)

///THE AMERICANS THEN.

LD020654

(TEXT) THE SUBJECT OF "SOVIET MENACE" TO WESTERN EUROPE HAS BEEN WHIPPED UP IN WESTERN PROPAGANDA IN RECENT YEARS, AND REPORTS BEGAN OFTEN TO BE PUBLISHED ON "SS-20" MISSILES. WE PROPOSED IN THE AUTUMN OF 1979 THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE USA AND THE USSR SHOULD MEET WITHOUT DELAY TO EXAMINE THE SITUATION AND REACH AGREEMENT ON A PARITY EVENT AT A LOWER LEVEL THAN HAS TAKEN SHAPE BY THAT TIME. AN ANSWER TO THE SOVIET INITIATIVE WAS NATO'S "TWIN-TRACK" DECISION OF DECEMBER 1979 ON "REARMAMENT."

BUT LET US SEE WHAT IS AFTER ALL THE BALANCE OF NUCLEAR FORCES IN EUROPE.

IF AMONG THE MEDIUM-RANGE MEANS ARE INCLUDED THE MAIN MISSILE AND AVIATION NUCLEAR WEAPONS OF THE NATO COUNTRIES, WHICH ARE CAPABLE OF REACHING TARGETS ON THE SOVIET UNION'S TERRITORY FROM THE TERRITORY OF THE WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND THE WATER BASINS WASHING EUROPE, I.E. WITH A RANGE (RADIUS) OF ACTION OF 1,000 KILOMETERS AND MORE (BUT LESS, OF COURSE, THAN INTERCONTINENTAL RANGE) AND THE RESPECTIVE SOVIET ARMS OF SIMILAR RANGE STATIONED IN THE EUROPEAN PART OF THE USSR, THERE IS PRESENTLY A ROUGH BALANCE AS REGARDS SUCH WEAPONS-BETWEEN NATO AND THE USSR IN EUROPE. THE NATO COUNTRIES HAVE HERE 986 OF SUCH CARRIERS. AMONG THEM THE USA HAS MORE THAN 700 (F-111, FB-111, F-4 AIRCRAFT, PLANES ON BOARD AIRCRAFT CARRIERS ON THE SEAS AND OCEANS WASHING EUROPE). ON TOP OF IT, THE BRITISH POTENTIAL INCLUDES 64 BALLISTIC MISSILES AND 55 BOMBERS. FRANCE HAS 144 UNITS (98 MISSILES AND 46 BOMBERS).

of
lines

THE SOVIET UNION HAS 975 UNITS OF SIMILAR WEAPONS. THE SITUATION HAS NOT BECOME DIFFERENT EVEN AFTER THE USSR BEGAN REPLACING THE "SS-4" AND "SS-5" MISSILES, WHOSE SERVICE LIFE HAS EXPIRED, WITH THE MORE ADVANCE "SS-20." WHEN DEPLOYING ONE NEW MISSILE, WE REPLACE ONE OR TWO OLD MISSILES AND SCRAP THE LATTER TOGETHER WITH THE LAUNCHERS.

IT IS TRUE THAT "SS-20" CAN CARRY THREE WARHEADS. BUT THEIR SUMMARY YIELD IS LESS THAN THAT OF ONE OLD WARHEAD. CONSEQUENTLY, IN THE PROCESS OF REPLACEMENT OF OBSOLETE MISSILES, THE TOTAL NUMBER OF OUR CARRIERS WAS DECREASING, AND SIMULTANEOUSLY WAS REDUCING THE AGGREGATE YIELD OF OUR MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR POTENTIAL.

Deployment trends

BUT THE NATO MEDIUM-RANGE MEANS ARE PERMANENTLY PERFECTED AND INCREASED. IN BRITAIN, FOR EXAMPLE, MODERNIZED BALLISTIC MISSILES WITH SIX WARHEADS (INSTEAD OF THREE NOW) ARE INSTALLED IN "POLARIS" SUBMARINES. IN FRANCE IT IS PLANNED TO REPLACE GROUND AND SEA BASED MISSILES WITH A MONOBLOCK WARHEAD WITH MISSILES WITH SEVEN WARHEADS. THE NUMBER OF FRENCH MISSILE CARRYING SUBMARINES ALSO INCREASES.

AND THIS IS AT A TIME WHEN AS REGARDS THE NUMBER OF NUCLEAR CHARGES FIRED AGAINST A TARGET IN ONE SALVO, WHICH IS A HIGHLY ESSENTIAL INDICATOR, NATO ALREADY NOW HAS A FIFTY PER CENT ADVANTAGE.

THE ABOVE CITED DATA ARE A REFLECTION OF REALITY AND CLEARLY SHOW HOW FAR-FETCHED IS THE CLAMOUR RAISED BY NATO ABOUT THE "INTOLERABLE SUPERIORITY" OF THE USSR AS REGARDS THE MEDIUM-RANGE WEAPONS AND THE "NECESSITY OF REARMAMENT." TO BE FRANK, IT IS SOONER THE SOVIET UNION WHICH SHOULD HAVE RAISED THE QUESTION OF REARMAMENT.

IF ANOTHER ALMOST 600 AMERICAN MISSILES ARE ADDITIONALLY DEPLOYED IN WESTERN EUROPE, NATO WILL RECEIVE A FIFTY PER CENT ADVANTAGE AS REGARDS CARRIERS, AND ALMOST A ONE HUNDRED PER CENT ADVANTAGE AS REGARDS NUCLEAR CHARGES.

*NATO
CARTF*

IS NOT IT CLEAR THAT IT WOULD SERIOUSLY UPSET THE EXISTING, CONSIDERING ALL FACTORS, ROUGH BALANCE, CREATE A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF THE USSR AND ITS ALLIES?

(MORE)

2 NOV 0910Z HAT/CH

FBIS 19

TAKE 7--11 (BREZHNEV DER SPIEGEL INTERVIEW)

/// AND ITS ALLIES.

LD020706

(TEXT) REMEMBER HOW THE UNITED STATES REACTED TO A POSSIBILITY OF THE DEPLOYMENT TWO DECADES AGO OF SEVERAL TENS OF SOVIET MISSILES IN CUBA AT THE REQUEST OF THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT. WASHINGTON CLAMoured THAT MORTAL THREAT OVERHANGED THE UNITED STATES. AND IT IS SOUGHT TO CONVINCE US THAT U.S. FORWARD-BASED NUCLEAR MEANS SITUATED ALONG THE PERIMETER OF OUR WESTERN FRONTIERS IS A THEME THAT IS FORBIDDEN, THAT IS NOT TO BE DISCUSSED. ALL OUR ACTIVITY TO NEUTRALIZE THE EXISTING THREAT IS PROCLAIMED TO BE "BEYOND THE LIMITS REQUIRED BY THE USSR'S DEFENCE;" WHILE THE INTENTION TO DEPLOY AT OUR DOORSTEP HUNDREDS OF THE LATEST U.S. MISSILES OVER AND ABOVE THE XISTING ONES IS PRESENTED AS AN "ACT OF DEFENCE." WHAT IS THIS -- CYNICISM OR THE LOSS OF AN ELEMENTARY SENSE OF PROPORTION?

AN ARRANGEMENT HAS NOW BEEN ACHIEVED WITH THE UNITED STATES TO RESUME THE TALKS ON MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR MEANS. THEY WILL START ONE OF THESE DAYS IN GENEVA. THE USSR WELCOMES THIS ARRANGEMENT, JUST AS IT IS WELCOMED BY GOVERNMENTS AND MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN OTHER COUNTRIES WHO WISH THAT THE THREAT OF NEW WAR BE LESSENER, THAT THE TENSION BE EASED, THAT PEACE BE DURABLE.

BUT THERE IS A THING ONE CANNOT AVOID MENTIONING. AS THE TALKS ARE DRAWING NEARER, CLAIMS ARE BEING MADE EVER MORE OFTEN BY THE U.S. SIDE (AND AT A RATHER HIGH LEVEL, AT THAT) FOR A "SPECIAL APPROACH" TO THE UNITED STATES. RATHER PECULIAR PRELIMINARY CONDITIONS ARE BEING FORMULATED: U.S. FORWARD BASED MEANS SHOULD NOT BE MENTIONED; NUCLEAR WEAPONS OF THE UNITED STATES' ALLIES IN NATO SHOULD NOT BE INCLUDED INTO ANY BALANCE; THE SCOPE OF THE TALKS SHOULD BE LIMITED TO SOVIET MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILES, WHICH SHOULD BE DISMANTLED "IN RETURN" FOR U.S. MISSILES PLANNED TO BE DEPLOYED IN EUROPE.

*US
negotiating
strategy*

IT IS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND ON WHAT LOGIC THIS ATTITUDE IS BASED. IN ANY CASE, IT HAS NOTHING TO DO EITHER WITH OBJECTIVENESS, OR WITH REALISM. THOSE IN THE UNITED STATES WHO ARE ADVANCING THIS SORT OF "PROPOSALS" APPARENTLY THEMSELVES DO NOT EXPECT A SECOND THAT THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT AGREE TO THEM. NOT A SINGLE STATE THAT IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE SECURITY OF ITS PEOPLE WOULD AGREE TO THIS IN OUR PLACE.

MOST PROBABLE THE AUTHORS OF SUCH "PROPOSALS" REALLY HAVE NO WISH FOR TALKS, THE LEAST SO SUCCESSFUL TALKS. WHAT THEY WANT IS TO DISRUPT THE TALKS AS A SORT OF JUSTIFICATION FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE PLANNED ARMS RACE, FOR TURNING WESTERN EUROPE, AS PLANNED, INTO A LAUNCHING PAD FOR NEW U.S. MISSILES TRAINED ON THE USSR. THEY ARE DESIGNING IN ADVANCE THE DEADLOCK OF THE TALKS SO AS TO SAY: LOOK, THE USSR HAS NO REGARD FOR THE WEST'S OPINION, SO THE UNITED STATES CAN DO NOTHING BUT DEPLOY THE MISSILES...

THIS SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND BY ALL WHO ARE TRULY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PRESENT DANGEROUS SITUATION IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD, WHO WORK SINCERELY FOR FRUITFUL TALKS AND NUCLEAR ARMS LIMITATION IN EUROPE. —

EVERYTHING IN THE OFFICIAL EXPLANATIONS OF THE PLANS FOR THE DEPLOYMENT OF NEW U.S. NUCLEAR MISSILES IN EUROPE IS FALSE, FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE END. IT IS A FALSEHOOD THAT ALL THIS IS "ADDITIONAL ARMAMENT" IN ANSWER TO THE DEFIANCE OF THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH, ALLEGEDLY, REFUSED TO HOLD TALKS ON MEDIUM-RANGE WEAPONS. IT IS A FALSEHOOD THAT THE UNITED STATES DECIDED TO DEPLOY ITS NEW MISSILES IN WESTERN EUROPE ONLY IN REPLY TO THE REQUEST OF ITS ALLIES AND BEING MOTIVATED, EXCLUSIVELY, BY THE CONCERN ABOUT THEIR "SECURITY."

(MORE)

2 NOV 0919Z HAT/CH

FBIS 20

TAKE 8--11 (BREZHNEV DER SPIEGEL INTERVIEW)

/// ABOUT THEIR "SECURITY."

LD020724

(TEXT) I SHALL NOT DWELL ON HOW THE AMERICANS WERE PRACTICALLY EXTORTING THE "CONSENT" OF SOME WEST EUROPEANS TO COME UNDER THE "PROTECTION" OF NEW U.S. MISSILES. THIS IS KNOWN. IT IS NOT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND THE HESITATIONS OF THOSE WHO ARE BEING MADE THE HOSTAGES OF THE POLICY OF OTHERS, EXTRAS AROUND THEATRE WEAPONS, AS IS THE EXPRESSION NOW FASHIONABLE IN WASHINGTON.

*LRTNF
had R
European*

WHO WILL BE PUSHING THE BUTTON TO LAUNCH MISSILES, TO WHICH OF THE "TWO AND A HALF" WARS IN WHICH SECRETARY WEINBERGER IS PLAYING WILL THEY BE GEARED? SUFFICE IT TO ASK THESE AND SEVERAL OTHER SIMILAR QUESTIONS, TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THAT STRATEGIC OBJECTS ON USSR TERRITORY ARE TARGETS OF U.S. MISSILES, THAT NEW U.S. CARRIERS CAN BE USED AS FIRST STRIKE WEAPONS TO REVEAL THE ESSENCE OF WHAT IS TAKING PLACE.

WESTERN EUROPE IS BEING CONDITIONED TO ANOTHER AGGRESSIVE TURN IN THE UNITED STATES' NUCLEAR DOCTRINES AT THE COST OF VAST DANGERS INVOKED ON ITS PEOPLES. IN ORDER TO NEUTRALIZE MOBILE MISSILES IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO DEAL RETALIATIVE STRIKES OF GREAT YIELD AT THE SUPPOSED AREAS OF THEIR DEPLOYMENT. THIS IS THE REAL VALUE REPEATING LINE

THE REAL VALUE OF THE UNITED STATES "CONCERN" FOR THE SECURITY OF WEST EUROPEANS. THIS IS A GRIM FACT, BUT IT IS A FACT.

"THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT SEEKING PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT. WE INSIST ON ONE THING ONLY, THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE NATO ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE SHOULD MEASURE OUR SECURITY AND THE SECURITY OF OUR ALLIES BY THE SAME YARDSTICK AS THEIR OWN. WE SEE THE OBJECTIVE OF THE COMING TALKS IN TRANSLATING THE PRINCIPLE OF PARITY AND EQUAL SECURITY INTO THE LANGUAGE OF CONCRETE COMMITMENTS OF THE SIDES. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD LIKE THE TALKS TO RESULT IN THE LOWERING OF THE LEVEL OF CONFRONTATION INSTEAD OF RAISING THIS LEVEL, AND IN THE ROAD BEING OPENED TO FURTHER STEPS FOR MILITARY DETENTE IN EUROPE.

WE HAVE ALREADY SAID THAT GIVEN THE UNITED STATES' REASONABLE STAND IN CASE NATO'S PLANS OF THE NEW MISSILE ARMAMENTS ARE DROPPED, WE SHALL BE PREPARED TO REDUCE THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF SOVIET MISSILES. I MUST ADD THAT WE SHALL BE PREPARED TO AGREE ON RATHER SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS FROM BOTH SIDES.

WHEN THE NEED TO CONSIDER NUCLEAR POTENTIALS OF THE UNITED STATES' ALLIES IN NATO IS THE POINT OF THE MATTER WE SIMPLY SUGGEST TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION WHAT THERE EXISTS. THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT PRESSING FOR THE REDUCTION OF PRECISELY THESE POTENTIALS. IT IS THE OVERALL RESULT, OVERALL BALANCE THAT IS IMPORTANT TO US.

IT IS PRECISELY FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING IT EASIER TO EMBARK ON THE PRACTICAL SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM THAT WE SUGGESTED; AS WE CONFIRM IT ANEW, IMPOSING AS SOON AS THE TALKS START, THAT IS FROM NOVEMBER 30 OF THIS YEAR, A MORATORIUM ON THE DEPLOYMENT IN EUROPE OF NEW MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILE MEANS OF NATO AND THE USSR, THE MORATORIUM THAT WOULD OPERATE TILL THE CONCLUSION OF A PERMANENT TREATY. THIS WOULD MEAN THAT BOTH SIDES WOULD FREEZE QUANTITATIVELY AND QUALITATIVELY THE PLANS OF DEPLOYING THEIR MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILE MEANS IN EUROPE INCLUDING, NATURALLY, U.S. FORWARD-BASED NUCLEAR MEANS IN THE AREA, WOULD STOP THE WORK ON THE PREPARATION TO IMPLEMENT SUCH PLANS. NATO COUNTRIES WOULD NOT BE DEPLOYING "PERSHING-2" MISSILES, CRUISE MISSILES AND OTHER MEDIUM-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILE ARMAMENTS. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD STOP THE DEPLOYMENT OF "SS-20" MISSILES.

*Soviet
payoid
moratorium*

THUS, THE SOVIET UNION IS SAYING A CLEAR "YES" TO ANY HONEST TALKS LEADING TO THE CURBING OF THE ARMS RACE AND GENUINE DISARMAMENT. WE BELIEVE THAT SUCH TALKS ARE NECESSARY AND REALISTIC AND WE, ON OUR PART, WILL BE PROMOTING THE ATTAINMENT OF THEIR SUCCESS.

QUESTION: UNDER PRESIDENT REAGAN THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT WISH EVEN TO HEAR ABOUT THE SALT-II TREATY THAT HAD BEEN DRAWN UP EARLIER BY MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON. DO YOU BELIEVE IN THE REALITY OF REVIVING THAT TREATY?

SALT II

ANSWER: WHEN I AM ASKED ABOUT THE SALT-II TREATY, I ALWAYS RECALL THOSE PROLONGED AND NOT EASY TALKS AT DIFFERENT LEVELS THAT PRECEDED ITS CONCLUSION. THE TREATY THAT HAD BEEN WORKED OUT REFLECTED THE CLEARLY DEFINED BALANCE OF INTERESTS OF THE SIDES, EVERYTHING HAS BEEN WEIGHED AS ON VERY FINE SCALES. THIS IS WHY THE TREATY WAS ACCEPTABLE FOR BOTH SIDES.

BY THE TIME OF THE CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY, THE SOVIET UNION HAD A GREATER NUMBER OF CARRIERS, WHILE THE UNITED STATES HAD THE ADVANTAGE AS REGARDS THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS. BUT WE AGREED IN CASE THE TREATY COMES INTO EFFECT TO DECREASE THE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC WEAPON CARRIES BY APPROXIMATELY TEN PERCENT FOR 254 UNITS.

ESTABLISHING THE PARITY OF THE USSR AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE SPHERE OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMAMENTS, MOREOVER THROUGH BIGGER CUTS OF SUCH MEANS BY THE SOVIET UNION THAN BY THE UNITED STATES, THE SALT-II TREATY WAS LAYING DOWN A RELIABLE BASIS FOR FURTHER MEASURES IN STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION AND REDUCTION. THIS WAS PROMOTED ALSO BY THE RATHER RIGID FRAMEWORK THAT WAS INTRODUCED FOR THE WORK ON DESIGNING NEW TYPES OF MISSILES AND PERFECTING OLD ONES.

IT IS NOT OUR FALUT THAT THE TREATY, WHICH IS, PERHAPS, ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL THE TREATIES ON ARMS CONTROL, HAS NOT YET GONE INTO EFFECT.

IT IS ATTEMPTED IN WASHINGTON TO JUSTIFY THE REFUSAL TO RATIFY THE SALT-II TREATY BY ALLEGATIONS THAT THE UNITED STATES LAGS BEHIND THE USSR, WHICH ALREADY HAS OR IS ABOUT TO ACQUIRE SOME MAJOR ADVANTAGES IN STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS. BUT IS PRECISELY THE TREATY THAT PRECLUDED THE ADVANTAGE OF ANY OF THE

FBIS 21

TAKE 9--11 (BREZHNEV DER SPIEGEL INTERVIEW

/// AND FOR EVER.

LD020734

(TEXT) I MUST STATE QUITE DEFINITELY THAT FROM THE MOMENT WHEN THE SALT-II TREATY WAS SIGNED IN 1979 THE SOVIET UNION HAS NOT BEEN DOING ANYTHING IN THE SPHERE OF STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS THAT WOULD LEAD TO CHANGING THAT ROUGH PARITY WHICH HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED.

MEANWHILE, THE UNITED STATES, QUITE THE CONTRARY, IS ADOPTING EVER NEW MILITARY PROGRAMMES. FABULOUS SUMS ARE ALLOCATED FOR THEM. AND ALL THIS IS BEING DONE UNDER THE PRETEXT OF LIQUIDATING THE UNITED STATES' NON-EXISTENT "LAGGING BEHIND" THE USSR. AS TO THE SALT PROCESS, ITS CONTINUATION IS BEING LINKED WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMMES OF INCREASING THE UNITED STATES STRATEGIC MIGHT. IT TURNS OUT THAT PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON ARE SPEAKING NOT ABOUT THE REDUCTION OF STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS BUT THEIR BUILD-UP, THAT THE TALKS ARE BEING MADE DEPENDENT ON THE SPEED OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE FLOWLINE OF ARMAMENTS.

THE SOVIET UNION DECLARES CONSISTENTLY FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE SALT PROCESS, FOR GENUINE LIMITATIONS AND REDUCTIONS OF STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF PARITY AND EQUAL SECURITY. WHAT IS NEEDED FOR THIS PURPOSE IS TO CONTINUE THE TALKS CALMLY, WITHOUT CHEAP PROPAGANDA AND ATTEMPTS AT PRESSURE, TO PRESERVE EVERYTHING POSITIVE THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED WHEN DRAWING UP THE SALT-II TREATY, NOT TO LINK IN ANY WAY THIS PRIORITY PROBLEM WITH OTHER PROBLEMS, NO MATTER HOW IMPORTANT.

NOW A FEW WORDS ABOUT CONTROL. THEY LIKE TO PROCLAIM IN WASHINGTON THAT AGREEMENTS ON ARMS LIMITATION SHOULD RENDER THEMSELVES TO THOROUGH CONTROL. BUT WHO OBJECTS TO THIS? WE, TOO WISH TO BE CONFIDENT THAT THE UNITED STATES IS FULFILLING ITS OBLIGATIONS. THEREFORE, WE ARE INTERESTED IN CONTROL NO LESS, AND MAYBE MORE, THAN THE UNITED STATES.

NTM
Ver. Richin

IT IS IN THE UNITED STATES THAT ALL SORTS OF PLANS ARE BEING DISCUSSED IN EARNEST AS TO HOW INTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES COULD BE HIDDEN MORE RELIABLY, COULD BE PLACED BEYOND THE CONTROL BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS. IT IS IN THE UNITED STATES, NOT IN THE SOVIET UNION, THAT THE VARIANTS OF PREEMPTIVE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WITH TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE EFFECT OF SURPRISE ARE BEING PLAYED OUT. OUR STAND IS THE RENUNCIATION OF BEING THE FIRST TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IT IS DETERMINED BY OUR GENERAL ATTITUDE TO NUCLEAR WAR AS AN IMPERMISSIBLE CATASTROPHE.

WE, JUST AS THE UNITED STATES, HAVE THE EXPERIENCE OF CONTROL OVER THE SALT-1 AGREEMENTS. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT NATIONAL MEANS ENSURE DUE CONTROL. THE RESOLVING POWER OF THESE MEANS OF OBSERVATION, SPECIFICALLY, SPACE MEANS, IS CONSTANTLY INCREASING, HENCE THE POSSIBILITIES OF NATIONAL MEANS OF CONTROL ARE GROWING TOO. THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION IS WELL AWARE OF THIS. SOME OTHER FORMS OF CONTROL MIGHT BE WORKED OUT, GIVEN CONFIDENCE. BUT UNDER ALL CONDITIONS NATIONAL MEANS MUST HAVE THE PRIORITY SINCE THEY ARE BETTER SUITED FOR THE INTERESTS OF SECURITY OF A STATE.

Space-
NTM

IT SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE SPHERE OF ARMAMENTS GETS AHEAD OF THE POSSIBILITIES OF CONTROL OVER THE MEASURES OF ARMS LIMITATION AND REDUCTION. THIS MEANS THAT AN ARRANGEMENT TO THIS EFFECT IS NEEDED NOW. IT IS NEEDED IN ORDER TO STOP THE FLOW LINE OF THE ARMS RACE, TO ENSURE THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS UNDER A RELIABLE CONTROL IN THE INTERESTS OF SECURITY OF ALL PEOPLES.

QUESTION: THE IDEA OF FURTHER SPREAD OF CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES ON OUR CONTINENT THAT YOU SET OUT MANY TIMES CAUSED INTEREST IN THE WEST. THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED TO SPREAD THESE MEASURES TO THE ENTIRE EUROPEAN PART OF THE COUNTRY. WHAT STEP IS EXPECTED FROM THE WEST IN RETURN?

ANSWER: THE STRENGTHENING OF CONFIDENCE AMONG STATES, PARTICULARLY IN THE MILITARY SPHERE, MEETS THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE EUROPEAN PEOPLES, OF ALL PARTICIPANTS IN THE ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. THIS CANNOT BE OTHERWISE SINCE THE ROAD TO PEACE PASSES NOT THROUGH CONFRONTATION BUT THROUGH THE PROCESS OF TALKS, THROUGH MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES OF REPRESENTATIVES OF STATES, AND, IN THE LONG RUN, THROUGH PRACTICAL STEPS THAT HELP BRING PEOPLES CLOSER TOGETHER, NORMALIZE THE INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE, REMOVE SUCH OBSTACLES AS MUTUAL DISTRUST, PREJUDICE AND FEAR.

(MORE)

2 NOV 0938Z HAT/BB

FBIS 22

TAKE 10--11 (BREZHNEV DER SPIEGEL INTERVIEW)

/// PREJUDICE AND FEAR.

LD020742

(TEXT) WE IN THE SOVIET UNION WOULD LIKE TO HOPE THAT THE CIRCUMSTANTIAL AND PROPAGANDA CONSIDERATIONS BY WHICH SOME WESTERN DELEGATIONS ARE GUIDED AT THE MEETING IN MADRID DO NOT ECLIPSE THE FUNDAMENTAL REQUIREMENTS OF COOPERATION AND THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON CONVENING A EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES, SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE. THERE CAN BE NO CONFIDENCE WITHOUT RECIPROCITY AND EQUALITY. INTERNATIONAL SECURITY IS BASED ON EQUAL SECURITY OF CONTRACTING PARTIES.

CONSENTING TO SPREAD CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES TO THE ENTIRE EUROPEAN PART OF THE USSR, WE NATURALLY EXPECT RECIPROCAL STEPS FROM THE WEST. MILITARY PREPARATIONS IN THE EUROPEAN ZONE OF NATO START NOT FROM THE CONTINENTAL EDGE OF EUROPE. EVERYBODY KNOWS THIS. INSULAR TERRITORIES ADJACENT TO EUROPE, RESPECTIVE SEA AND OCEAN AREAS AND AIR SPACE OVER THEM MUST, CONSEQUENTLY, ALSO BE INCLUDED. THIS IS THE POINT.

QUESTION: DEBATES ON NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE HAVE BEEN LAUNCHED IN EUROPE AGAIN. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE CREATION OF SUCH ZONES IN DIFFERENT AREAS OF OUR CONTINENT?

ANSWER: YOU ASK ABOUT NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CREATION OF NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES IS EVIDENT TO THOSE WHO SETS IN EARNEST THE TASK OF NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND STABILISATION OF PEACE. AND THE ROAD TOWARD AGREEMENT, IT SEEMS TO ME, IS NOT SO THORNY.

Nuclear-free zones

INDEED, MANY STATES HAVE JOINED THE NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY, MOST OF THEM HAVING NO SUCH WEAPONS ON THEIR TERRITORIES. THERE CAN HARDLY BE ANY DOUBTS THAT THE MAJORITY OF THEM TREASURE THEIR NON-NUCLEAR STATUS AND WOULD LIKE TO SEE IN IT A GUARANTEE OF NOT BEING DRAWN INTO A NUCLEAR CONFLICT. IF NUCLEAR POWERS ASSUMED THE COMMITMENT TO RESPECT THE NON-NUCLEAR STATUS OF SUCH STATES, NOT TO DEPLOY NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON THEIR TERRITORIES AND NOT TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST THEM UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, THE CONDITIONS FOR THE CREATION OF SEVERAL NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES WOULD FORM SIMULTANEOUSLY IN VARIOUS AREAS OF THE WORLD.

(MORE)

2 NOV 1000Z HAT/BB

FBIS 23

TAKE 11 OF 11--11 (BREZHNEV DER SPIEGEL INTERVIEW)

/// OF THE WORLD.

LD0020748

(TEXT) I WAS RECENTLY ADDRESSED WITH A QUESTION FROM FINLAND AS TO WHAT WOULD BE THE SOVIET UNION'S ATTITUDE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE IN THE NORTH OF EUROPE. OUR ANSWER WAS GIVEN PUBLICLY AND I SHALL NOT CITE IT IN FULL. I SHALL ONLY RECALL THAT THE SOVIET UNION EXPRESSED THE READINESS BY CONCLUDING A MULTILATERAL AGREEMENT WITH COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN THE ZONE OR AGREEMENTS WITH EACH OF THEM IN PARTICULAR TO ASSUME THE COMMITMENT ON NON-USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST NORTHERN EUROPE.

WE ARE NOT MAKING OUR COMMITMENT CONDITIONAL UPON THE POSITIVE ATTITUDE OF OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS TO THE ZONE THOUGH; NATURALLY, THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE ZONE WOULD BE IN GREATER SECURITY IF THE GUARANTEES OF THE RESPECT OF THE NON-NUCLEAR STATUS WERE GIVEN ALSO BY NATO NUCLEAR POWERS.

WE DO NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF DISCUSSING IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CREATION OF THE NORTH EUROPEAN NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SOME MEASURES ON OUR OWN TERRITORY. WITHOUT GOING INTO DETAIL, I SHALL NOTE THAT IT MIGHT BE SUBSTANTIAL MEASURES.

THE NORTH OF EUROPE IS FAR FROM THE ONLY PLACE IN OUR CONTINENT WHERE THE POSSIBILITY OF THE CREATION OF NUCLEAR FREE ZONES IS BEING INTENSIVELY DISCUSSED. THIS IDEA IS VERY POPULAR IN THE BALKANS. MANY COUNTRIES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SHOW INTEREST IN IT. WE, NATURALLY, SYMPATHISE WITH SUCH IDEAS.

THE SOVIET UNION WISHES THAT THE ARSENALS OF ALL TYPES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE SHOULD NOT BE WIDENED, THAT INSTEAD THE PROCESS OF THEIR REDUCTION SHOULD BE STARTED. I SHALL END WITH WHAT I STARTED--IF A POSSIBILITY OF THE CREATION OF A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE OPENS IN SOME OR OTHER PART OF EUROPE, THE USSR WILL GIVE THE MOST INTENSIVE SUPPORT TO PRACTICAL STEPS IN THIS DIRECTION.

QUESTION: THE DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND ARE ASSESSED AS A VERY SERIOUS MATTER IN THE FRG. CAN IT BE SURMISED THAT THE QUESTION OF NORMALISATION OF THE SITUATION IN POLAND IS VIEWED IN THE SOVIET UNION IN A CLOSE CONNECTION WITH THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE IN EUROPE?

ANSWER: CERTAINLY, IT IS VIEWED IN CLOSE CONNECTION WITH THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE, AND, I WOULD ADD, THE PLACE OF SOCIALIST POLAND IN EUROPE.

THERE ARE A LOT OF SPECULATIONS ABOUT POLAND IN THE WEST, ALL SORT OF SPECULATIONS HAVING MOSTLY ONE AIM, THAT OF DESTABILISING FURTHER THE SITUATION, UNDERMINING THE POSITIONS OF SOCIALISM IN THAT COUNTRY, COMPLICATING POLAND'S RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AND TO BE SURE, GETTING FROM ALL THIS ADVANTAGES FOR THE DESIGNS OF THE NATO BLOC.

CERTAIN PERSONS CANNOT WAIT TO IMPOSE ON THE PEOPLES THE HARDSHIPS OF COLD WAR OR SOME OTHER WAR. THE SOVIET UNION WAS NEVER ENGAGED AND IS NOT ENGAGED IN SUCH AFFAIRS. POLAND IS TO US A FRIEND, A GOOD NEIGHBOUR AND AN ALLY AND WE TREAT IT AS AN ALLY AND FRIEND SHOULD BE TREATED. THE USSR IS TRYING TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE POLES TO OVERCOME ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AND IS ASSISTING THEM IN THIS, AS FAR AS OUR POSSIBILITIES ALLOW.

IT WOULD BE GOOD IF THEY IN THE WEST UNDERSTOOD THAT PEACE AND TRANQUILITY ARE NECESSARY FOR ALL STATES OF EUROPE, AND NOT ONLY FOR COUNTRIES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY.

(ENDALL)

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MEMORANDUM FOR: DCI - - -

Attached is Brezhnev's interview with Der Spiegel.

The numbers of forces in his "European balance" are generally consistent with those given by other Soviet spokesmen in recent months.

Soviets are attempting to establish a European balance to show how NATO CMTNF would be a mistake. It is intended also to focus the upcoming talks on Europe alone.

CC: DD CI
D/OHP

Date 5 Nov 81